

## Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 LUSAKA 3390

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: CGDS-1

TAGS: PDEV RH US UK ZA

SUBJ: RHODESIA TALKS: KAUNDA'S PLAN FOR RHODESIA

SUMMARY. KAUNDA'S PROPOSAL IS BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT A FAIR ELECTION WITHOUT MAJOR VIOLENCE IS NOT POSSIBLE IN RHODESIA BEFORE A PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION; THEREFORE POWER SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED DIRECTLY. KAUNDA BELIEVES THAT HE IS STILL WORKING WITH US TO ACHIEVE A SOLUTION IN RHODESIA WHICH WILL AVOID FURTHER VIOLENCE AND THAT HIS PROPOSAL MEETS THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION. HE BELIEVES THAT SMITH WILL GO ALONG AND THAT HE AND SOME OF THE NATIONALISTS WILL SERVE IN A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY DOMINATED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE OTHER FRONTLINE COUNTRIES AND THE OAU WILL FALL IN LINE. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT SMITH IS READY TO ACCEPT A PLAN WHICH WILL GIVE A SHARE OF POWER TO MUGABE. FURTHERMORE, KAUNDA'S PROPOSAL DOES NOT DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH THE QUESTION OF THE MILITARY FORCES AND THEIR ULTIMATE ROLES. WE SEE AN ADVANTAGE, NEVERTHELESS, TO ALLOWING THE INITIATIVE TO RUN ITS OWN COURSE TO PROBABLE FAILURE BECAUSE OF ITS INHERENT FLAWS. FAILURE WITHOUT OUR INVOLVEMENT WOULD STRENGTHEN OUR PROPOSALS AND SUCCESS WOULD BE NO MORE UNACCEPTABLE TO US THAN WHAT HAPPENED IN MOZAMBIQUE. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING IS AN ATTEMPT TO PIECE TOGETHER WHAT KAUNDA IS

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TRYING TO DO AND HOW HE SEES IT FITTING INTO THE BROADER CONTEXT OF ATTEMPTS TO RESOLVE THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. IT IS BASED ON KAUNDA'S PRESENTATION TO CARVER/ CHAND GROUP, HVARIOUS CONVERSATIONS IN RHODESIA, INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, AND A TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION I HAD TUESDAY WITH MARK CHONA.

2. KAUNDA MAY BE MISGUIDED, BUT THE SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE

OR STRENGTH OF KAUNDA'S VIEWS ON HOW TO SETTLE THE RHODESIAN QUESTION CANNOT BE UNDERESTIMATED. HE APPEARS HONESTLY TO BELIEVE HE IS STILL WORKING WITH US TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA; THAT WE, NO LESS THAN HE, WISH TO FIND A SOLUTION WHICH MINIMIZES VIOLENCE AND MAXIMIZES THE GENERAL WELFARE OF RHODESIANS; AND THAT HE IS WORKING ON A PROPOSAL WHICH STANDS A CHANCE OF ACHIEVING THIS END AND BEING ACCEPTED BY ALL THE PARTIES OF BOTH RACES IN RHODESIA. I DO NOT THINK THAT HIS PLAN HAS BEEN THOUGHT THROUGH IN ANY DETAIL. FURTHERMORE, IT CONTAINS SOME MAJOR SHORTCOMINGS, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS RELIANCE ON CONTINUED US AND UK COOPERATION AND, EVENTUALLY, ESPOUSAL OF IT.

3. KAUNDA SEES HIS TALKS AS LEADING TO AN AGREEMENT WITH SMITH WHICH WOULD CONTAIN MOST OF THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

- BRITISH ACCEPTANCE OF AUTHORITY FROM SMITH'S ILLEGAL REGIME;
- BRITISH RECOGNITION SHORTLY THEREAFTER THAT CONDITIONS IN RHODESIA ARE SUCH THAT AN ELECTION COULD NOT BE HELD WHICH WOULD REFLECT THE TRUE FEELINGS OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE OR AVOID SERIOUS VIOLENCE;
- TURNOVER OF AUTHORITY BY BRITISH TO A PATRIOTIC FRONT DOMINATED GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WITH NKOMO AS PRESIDENT, MUGABE VICE PRESIDENT, AND INCLUDING MUZOREWA, SITHOLE, CHIKEREMA AND SMITH;
- DECLARATION OF ZIMBABWEAN INDEPENDENCE ALMOST IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER;

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- ACCEPTANCE BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF THE PRESENT RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCES (MINUS CERTAIN ELEMENTS LIKE THE SELOUS SCOUTS);
- ACCEPTANCE BY THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF AN INTERIM CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE WHICH CONTAINS GREATER SAFEGUARDS FOR THE WHITE POPULATION THAN THE PRESENT ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL;
- CREATION OF A CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION TO CONSIDER A FINAL AND PERMANENT CONSTITUTION FOR ZIMBABWE;
- A PERIOD OF CONSOLIDATION OF TWO OR THREE YEARS IN WHICH THE WHITES BUILD UP CONFIDENCE IN AFRICAN RULE, SHONAS RECOGNIZE THAT NKOMO IS A NATIONAL LEADER WHO HAS THEIR INTERESTS AT HEART AS MUCH AS THAT OF THE MATABELE, TEMPERS COOL UNTIL A NATIONAL ELECTION CAN BE HELD IN THREE OR FOUR YEARS.

4. WHY DO THE ZAMBIANS THINK SUCH A PLAN HAS A CHANCE OF BEING ACCEPTED? THEY BELIEVE THAT IT HAS MANY ATTRACTIONS TO SMITH. IT WOULD AVOID AN EARLY ELECTION PROCESS WHICH SMITH CONSIDERS WOULD LEAD TO VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION; IT PUTS INTO POWER THE ONLY LEADER SMITH REALLY HAS CONFIDENCE CAN HANDLE THE SITUATION; IT PROVIDES ASSURANCES TO THE WHITE POPULATION THROUGH SMITH'S OWN PARTICIPATION AND A CONSTITUTION-

AL STRUCTURE WHICH GIVES THEM BETTER PROTECTION; IT MAINTAINS MORE OR LESS INTACT THE PRESENT ARMED FORCES AS A GUARANTEE THAT PROMISES WILL BE CARRIED OUT; AND MOST IMPORTANT, ZAMBIANS BELIEVE SMITH AGREES WITH THEIR CONTENTION THAT THIS PROPOSAL MEETS THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION AND PROVIDES THE ONLY PEACEFUL WAY BY WHICH POWER COULD BE TRANSFERRED. THE ZAMBIANS BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER NATIONALISTS WILL GO ALONG WITH THIS PLAN UNDER SMITH'S URGING, BUT MORE IMPORTANT, THEY WILL ACCEPT WHEN THEY ARE FACED WITH THE OPTION OF GETTING A PIECE OF THE ACTION OR NOTHING AT ALL. THE ZAMBIANS ARE CONFIDENT THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE FRONTLINE WILL NOT OPPOSE SUCH A PROPOSITION, PARTICULARLY WHEN IT INCLUDES THE INVOLVEMENT OF ALL PARTIES, AND THAT THE OAU WOULD FOLLOW SUIT.

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5. WHAT IS THE REAL ZAMBIAN MOTIVATION? KAUNDA APPEARS TO HAVE BECOME CONVINCED THAT ANY OTHER SOLUTION WOULD LEAD TO CIVIL WAR AND VIOLENCE. AS HE SEES IT, THE HISTORY OF INTIMIDATION IN RHODESIAN ELECTIONS IS SO GREAT, EVEN WHEN THEY WERE OPERATED UNDER CONTROL OF THE RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, THAT THERE IS NO WAY IN WHICH AN ELECTION COULD BE CARRIED OUT WHICH GENUINELY REFLECTED PEOPLES VIEWS. EVEN IF IT WERE POSSIBLE, HE BELIEVES THAT BEFORE VERY LONG THE ARMED FORCES WOULD OVERTHROW ANY PRESIDENT WHO WAS NOT FROM THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. ELECTIONS ARE FINE WHEN THEY ARE CARRIED OUT IN SOCIETIES

WHICH UNDERSTAND THEM AND PLAY BY THE RULES. THERE IS NO WAY SUCH A THING COULD HAPPEN IN RHODESIA TODAY. DIVISIONS AND HATREDS ARE TOO GREAT. AS KAUNDA PUTS IT, HE SHOULD NOT BE PREVENTED FROM SUPPORTING THE ONLY PLAN WHICH AVOIDS VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE JUST BECAUSE IT PUTS HIS OLD ASSOCIATE NKOMO IN POWER. THE ZAMBIANS BOLSTER THEIR CLAIM BY SAYING THE PF COULD WIN AN ELECTION ANYWAY.

6. HOW ABOUT MUGABE? MUGABE REMAINS THE MAJOR FLY IN THE OINTMENT. THE RHODESIANS REFUSE TO ACCEPT HIM BUT THE ZAMBIANS ARE CONVINCED THAT POWER MUST GO TO THE PF WITH ALL ITS IMPERFECTIONS AND NOT TO NKOMO ALONE. THIS IS THE ONLY WAY IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRONTLINE AND THE OAU. IT IS NECESSARY TO INVOLVE ZANLA AND ITS SUBSTANTIAL FORCES. IT IS THE ONLY WAY TO KEEP GREAT POWER  
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RIVALRY (THE CHINESE) FROM UPSETTING THE PLAN. LASTLY, IT IS IMPORTANT AS A MEANS OF ASSOCIATING SOME SHONA SUPPORT WITH NKOMO, WHICH IS INDISPENSABLE TO HIS CHANCES OF SUCCESS.

7. THE PLAN'S SHORTCOMINGS. KAUNDA'S PROPOSAL LOOKS LIKE A BLATANT POWER PLAY IN FAVOR OF HIS FRIENDS, THE MEN WITH GUNS. MORALLY ITS ONLY JUSTIFICATION IS ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONTENTION THAT A FREE ELECTION WHICH GENUINELY REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF THE POPULATION IS NOT POSSIBLE UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IN RHODESIA AND THAT EVEN IF IT WAS, IT WOULD SOON BE REVERSED. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF SERIOUS PEOPLE WHO ACCEPT THIS CONTENTION, THOUGH I BELIEVE THERE ARE MORE WHO BELIEVE THAT FREE ELECTIONS CAN BE CARRIED OUT AND THE RESULT MADE TO STICK.

8. WHAT ARE THE PLAN'S CHANCES OF SUCCESS? APART FROM ITS MORAL SHORTCOMING, THE PLAN HAS OTHER MAJOR FLAWS. THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE IS THAT WE CANNOT BELIEVE THAT SMITH WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A PROPOSAL WHICH TURNED POWER OVER TO THE PF AS IT NOW STANDS. HE HAS ASKED THE ZAMBIANS WHAT HAPPENS IF NKOMO SHOULD DIE AND MADE CLEAR THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MUGABE. WE BELIEVE THAT SMITH IS PRESENTLY ENGAGED IN TRYING TO CUT MUGABE DOWN AND EVENTUALLY ELIMINATE HIM. HE CONTINUES HIS ATTACKS AGAINST ZANLA IN MOZAMBIQUE AND BELIEVES THAT HIS CONTINUING, SECRETIVE CONTACTS WITH THE ZAMBIANS AND RESISTANCE TO MUGABE'S PARTICIPATION RENDERS PF COOPERATION ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE. BUT SO FAR AS WE CAN SEE, AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH PUT NKOMO ALONE INTO POWER COULD NOT SURVIVE IN RHODESIA. THE OPPOSITION OF ZANU AND THE SHONA WOULD BE TOO GREAT AND VIOLENCE WOULD ENSUE.

9. BEYOND THAT, EVEN IF SMITH WERE TO ACCEPT MUGABE, ONE

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ASKS WHAT HAPPENS AFTER INDEPENDENCE TO THE VARIOUS ARMED FORCES. TO THE DEGREE THAT NKOMO RELIES ON SMITH'S FORCES, HE COULD FACE DISSATISFACTION FROM HIS OWN AND THOSE OF ZANLA; IF HE USES THEM, HIS OWN ZIPA FORCES WOULD ANTAGONIZE ZANLA AND EVENTUALLY STIR CONFLICT WITH THE CONSTITUTED FORCES WHICH COULD EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGE HIM.

10. MOST IMPORTANT, IT DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY THAT THE PLAN COULD SUCCEED WITHOUT OUR HELP. THE NATIONALISTS ARMED FORCES COULD ONLY PREVAIL AFTER MANY MONTHS, IF NOT YEARS MORE EFFORT UNLESS OUR PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE BROUGHT TO BEAR IN FULL MEASURE. BY THAT TIME THE PF IS LIKELY TO BE SO RADICALIZED THAT IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO ANYONE. IT ALMOST APPEARS AS THOUGH THE ZAMBIANS ARE RELYING ON US TO CONVINCE THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND SMITH OF THE NEED TO ACCEPT MUGABE.

11. IN THE MEANTIME, THE SOVIETS AND CHINESE IN LUSAKA APPEAR TO BE ALMOST AS EXERCISED ABOUT KAUNDA'S ACTIVITIES AS ARE WE. THE CHINESE SEE IT AS A NAKED ATTEMPT TO PUT NKOMO IN POWER AND THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY ARE ANGRY AT NKOMO FOR ALLOWING THE COMBINATION OF KAUNDA AND TINY ROWLAND TO NEGOTIATE HIM INTO AUTHORITY. THEY BELIEVE THAT WERE SUCH A PLAN TO SUCCEED, THEIR INFLUENCE WOULD SOON VANISH AND THEIR INVESTMENT IN ZAPU'S ARMED FORCES WOULD BE WASTED.

12. FOLLOWING IS SOME VERY TENTATIVZ SPECULATION ABOUT WHERE ALL THIS LEAVES US. IN OUR VIEW, HERE IN LUSAKA, THE LONGER KAUNDA'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH CONTINUE, THE LESS LIKELY THEY ARE TO SUCCEED BECAUSE THE DIFFICULTIES AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE PROPOSAL WILL BECOME MORE AND MORE APPARENT. SMITH, WHO IS ENGAGING IN THE EXERCISE PARTLY TO EXPLORE THE OPTION BUT ALSO TO SLOW DOWN THE MOMENTUM OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE, WILL DISCOVER THAT IT HAS EVEN LESS ATTRACTIVENESS FOR HIM THAN OUR PROPOSAL AND THE WHOLE

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INITIATIVE WILL PROBABLY FALL OF ITS OWN WEIGHT. FROM THIS  
DISTANCE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE HOW THE US OR UK COULD BE  
ASSOCIATED WITH SUCH A PROPOSAL, AFRICAN THOUGH IT IS.

13. IN OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THERE MAY BE AN ADVANTAGE TO  
ALLOWING IT TO PLAY OUT ITS COURSE RATHER THAN TO CONFRONT  
IT. ITS FAILURE WITHOUT OUR INVOLVEMENT STRENGTHENS OUR  
PROPOSAL AS THE ONLY VIABLE WAY OUT. IF BY SOME CHANCE  
IT WERE TO PROSPER IN THE TERMS KAUNDA SEES IT, THAT IS,  
INVOLVING ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE PARTIES IN RHODESIA, IT WOULD  
BE NO MORE UNACCEPTABLE TO US THAN THE MOZAMBIQUE SOLUTION,  
AND WE WILL HAVE TRIED OUR BEST.

14. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD SOON BEGIN TO ENGAGE KAUNDA  
DIRECTLY IN MORE FRANK DISCUSSIONS ABOUT OUR PROPOSAL  
AND PERHAPS HIS. WE COULD BEGIN THIS AFTER THE NEXT STOCKTAKING  
IN LONDON. WE UNDERSTAND KAUNDA MAY BE SENDING MARK CHONA TO  
WASHINGTON WITH A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CARTER CONTAINING  
MANY OF THESE THOUGHTS WITH SOMEWHAT MORE EMPHASIS ON THE THREAT  
FROM THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS IN THE EVENT HIS PLAN DOES NOT  
SUCCEED. THIS MAY PROVIDE THE OCCASION FOR SUCH DIRECT DIALOGUE.  
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